
15 Pilgrimage to Mount Bromo, Indonesia

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Introduction

For millennia, people have travelled to religious sites and events around the world. Religious tourism, where people travel for either religious motivations or to gaze at and learn about religious cultures and built environments, attracts thousands of visitors a year to religious sites and religiously themed festivals (Vukonić, 1996; Timothy and Olsen, 2006). The intersections between religion, spirituality and tourism, at least in the past couple of decades, has been an area of interest among tourism and religious studies scholars (e.g. Badone and Roseman, 2004; Timothy and Olsen, 2006; Stausberg, 2011; Norman, 2011; Olsen, 2015). However, there seems to be a regionality in terms of the geographical focus of these scholars. While initial research on religion and tourism focused on pilgrimage tourism journeys in European or other Western nations, in the past decade there has been an increase in cases studies from regions all over the world (see Olsen, 2013, p. 43).

However, religious tourism in Southeast Asia has received comparatively less attention despite the region being home to numerous religious sites associated major world religions such as Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam and Christianity, which faiths have not only left an impression

on the cultural landscape of the region, but continue to have an enormous influence in the daily life of the region's residents (Citrinot, 2011, 2014; Choe and O'Regan, 2016). For example, religious sites such as Angkor Wat in Cambodia, the Borobudur Temple in Indonesia, the Mỹ Sơn Sanctuary in Vietnam, the town of Luang Prabang in Laos, and baroque-style churches and Moorish-style mosques and palaces in Malaysia, attest to the eclectic nature of religious sites in this area. In addition, religions in this area have exerted a strong influence over various art forms, culinary customs, and festivals, such as the Balinese Hindu worship processions in Indonesia, the Loy Krathong festival in Thailand, the Tamil Hindu celebration of Thaipusam in Malaysia, and the Hari Raya festivities in Muslim countries (Citrinot, 2011, 2014; Choe and O'Regan, 2016; Harnish, 2016).

However, there have been a few studies that have focused on pilgrimage or religious tourism in Southeast Asia. For example, Hitchcock and Darma Putra (2007) analysed the politics behind the rejection of Bali's Pura Besakih, the largest and most holy Hindu temple on the island, as a World Heritage site, paying attention to the fault line between the monument's religious and tourism roles. These same authors also conducted a study of the tourism management of

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the Buddhist site of Borobudur and the Hindu site of Prambanan in Indonesia (Hitchcock and Darma Putra, 2015). King (2015) has looked at the role of UNESCO in Southeast Asia in relation to its religious sites. The UNWTO (2011) has also published research related to religious tourism in various countries in Asia and the Pacific, including Southeast Asia (see Citrinot, 2011). Of the other studies in this area, most focus on the management, promotion and commodification of religious sites in Southeast Asia as well as the segmentation of the religious tourism market (e.g. Henderson, 2003; Hashim *et al.*, 2007; Askew, 2008; Singh, 2008; Levi and Koher, 2009; Asi *et al.*, 2015) rather than looking at understanding and documenting pilgrimage rituals, meanings and practices, including the importance of pilgrimage routes and trails (e.g. Cochrane, 2011; Kasim, 2011; Seng-Guan, 2016).

The purpose of this chapter is to address this paucity of literature on religious tourism in Southeast Asia by examining the pilgrimage tradition of the Tenggerese people, a Javanese ethnic group in Eastern Java, who travel to Mount Bromo during their celebration of the Yadnya Kasada or Kosodo festival to make offerings to the mountain gods. After looking at tourism to the island of Java more generally, we discuss the history of this pilgrimage and look at the significance of this pilgrimage for both the Tenggerese people and tourism officials and marketers, who have used this pilgrimage to promote religious tourism to the area. Attention is then turned to looking at the problems that have arisen because of the commodification of this pilgrimage ritual, before concluding with some recommendations for overcoming these issues.

Java, Indonesia and the Tenggerese People

Indonesia is the fourth most populated country in the world, and can be characterized as being natural resource-rich with a very diverse economy (Cochrane, 2009). This tropical archipelago is comprised of approximately 18,000 islands, including the major islands of Java, Sumatra, Borneo (Kalimantan) and eastern Papua New Guinea (Nuryanti and Spillane, 2014). Indonesia is home to about 500 different languages, and officially the government recognizes five reli-

gions in accordance with the official philosophical foundation of Indonesia known as Pancasila: Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, Catholicism and Protestantism (i.e. Christianity) (Nuryanti and Spillane, 2014). Although Hinduism and Buddhism were the first faiths in the area, they were largely supplanted by Islam following the collapse of the Hindu kingdom of Majapahit around 1500 AD, and currently an estimated 89% of the population is Islamic (Nuryanti and Spillane, 2014).

As might be expected of a country with such diverse linguistic, ethnic and religious cultural traits, there is a wide variety of cultural heritage types (Indrianto, 2008). This wealth of cultural diversity gives Indonesia an advantage when it comes to the cultural tourism market. According to data on foreign visitor arrivals to Indonesia, 58.19% of visitors come for a sand, sun and sea holiday, 33.93% come for business, and 7.88% visit from other motivations (Citrinot, 2014). Religious tourism is generally grouped into the third category, and is presently part of a government initiative to integrate religious sites into the tourism promotion of the Archipelago's living heritage. One area of present emphasis is the island Bali, where its rich cultural heritage, in addition to its beaches, has long been used in tourism promotional materials (Picard, 1990; Dunbar-Hall, 2001; Reuter, 2008, 2012; Stausberg, 2011, p. 129; Tajeddini *et al.*, 2017). This island also attracts religiously orientated visitors in part because of its marketing emphasis on spiritual retreats and meditation courses (Norman, 2013, p. 135; Citrinot, 2014).

The neighbouring island of Java is considerably larger than Bali and is home to half of the country's 240 million people. Even though Java has a strong domestic market with a significant religious dimension and a strong tradition of pilgrimage, it is less well known as an international tourism destination. However, the island of Java has a lot to offer tourists, including the niche markets of geotourism, ecotourism, nature-based tourism, adventure tourism and cultural tourism (e.g. Divinagracia *et al.*, 2012; Dahles, 2013; Rachmawati *et al.*, 2013), and provides for economic and employment opportunities particularly in smaller rural and coastal communities (e.g. Timothy, 1999; Hakim *et al.*, 2014; Nijman and Nekaris, 2014).

Like the other islands in Indonesia, most residents are Muslim, although the Java is also

home to significant numbers of Buddhist, Hindu, Christian and traditionalist minorities. Subscribing to the 'five pillars of Islam', many Javanese residents participate in the Hajj, the required pilgrimage to Mecca. In fact, the government of Saudi Arabia has had to set a quota for the number of Indonesians participating in the Hajj (168,000 a year), much to the dismay of the Indonesian government and its citizens, because of the high number of Indonesians who wish to participate. However, the Tenggerese population on the island of Java also has a strong tradition of pilgrimage.

The Tenggerese population claim to be descended from princes within the Majapahit Empire (1293–1500 AD) (and often refer to themselves as *Wong Majapahit* or the 'people of Majapahit'), which was one of the most dominant and far-reaching empires in Southeast Asian history (Regnier, 1987; Miksic, 1996). Centred on the island of Java, the Majapahit Empire, at its height, stretched from Malaysia to New Guinea (Cribb, 2013), and also had influence in modern-day Australia and India (Regnier, 1987). Although the majority of Javanese converted to Islam following the collapse of Majapahit Empire, the Tenggerese have continued to preserve a priestly and distinctive non-Islamic expression of faith that differs from the *Kejawen* form of Islam found lower down the valleys (Hefner, 1985), practising a mix of Hinduism, Buddhism and ancestor worship.

Like the Hindu Balinese who also claim a connection with Majapahit Empire, the Tenggerese venerate 'Ida Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa', or the 'Almighty God', along with the Trimurti gods, Siwa, Brahma and Visnu. However, the Tenggerese differ from other Balinese citizens in the sense that they do not have access to Hindu-Javanese courts, and their faith is not underpinned by the Hindu caste system (Hefner, 1985). Furthermore, Tengger priests are known as '*dukun*', a term which is used widely in Java to refer to the guardians of specialized religious knowledge, in that they are practitioners of what might be termed the 'Old Religion' of Java (Geertz, 1960). Because they have maintained many cultural and religious traditions that were lost with the introduction of Islam to the island, the Tenggerese can be considered a 'relic' Javanese community (Smith-Hefner, 1987; Sukarsono *et al.*, 2013; Hamidi, 2016). This includes

being known for developing terraced vegetable farming systems and the Sodor dance, a ritual dance that is performed by dancers on the day of the Yadnya Kasada pilgrimage (Hamidi, 2016), and the *Kuda Lumping* performance, which is described as

a very popular west Javanese dance. It is performed by four to eight pairs of men who pretend to ride on imitation horses made of woven bamboo. It is a remnant of old dances that were exotic and warlike in nature. In Cirebon the dance is called Kuda Lumping and the music accompanying is called Gamelan. In Bandung it is called Kuda Kepang and is accompanied by bamboo angklung instruments. There is also Kuda Lumping in Bandung accompanied by the terbang (tambourine), kendang (drum) and trumpet. (Sudarmo, 2005, p. 328)

In fact, because of the unique blending of Javanese and Hindu culture found in Tenggerese culture, the government of Indonesia, through its Ministry of Tourism, has sought UNESCO world heritage status for the Tengger (Hamidi, 2016).

The Yadnya Kasada Pilgrimage to Mount Bromo

Mount Bromo (2329 m) is an active volcano – having erupted at least 50 times since 1804, when historical records were first kept (Roscoe, 2013) – located in East Java, Indonesia, and found within the Bromo-Tengger-Semeru National Park. Surrounding Mount Bromo is what is locally referred to as the *Laut Pasir*, or 'Sea of Sand', which is a desert of fine volcanic sand due to frequent eruptions (Rodriguez, 2016), as well as Mount Semeru, or the 'great mountain', the highest mountain on Java (3676m). Mount Bromo is also home to approximately 90,000 Tenggerese in 30 villages scattered around and within the park. One of the reasons why the Tenggerese people have been able to maintain their cultural and religious traditions is because, generally speaking, the region's mountainous and heavily forest terrain has allowed the Tenggerese to be isolated from the majority cultures of the lowland areas of Java (Pangarsa, 1995). Mount Bromo, with its massive volcanic crater and its regular emissions of white sulphurous smoke, is a place of great spiritual significance

for the Tenggerese (Fleming, 2004), in part because of the belief that Mount Bromo and the entire Tengger Caldera is sacred and the home of deities (*Dewata*), and therefore should be protected (Hakim, 2011). Because Java is a part of what is termed the ‘ring of fire’ due to its proximity to the edge of tectonic plates, and because of the island’s history of seismic activity, it is perhaps not surprising that its volcanoes play a central role in many of the island’s legends, myths and stories and have become an integral part of the Tenggerese belief system.

While there are wide variations in this traditional story, in sum, the Tenggerese people believe that they are descendants of Rora Anteng and Joko Seger. Joko Seger was a daughter of a Majapahit prince, who, with her husband Rora Anteng, fled the invading Islamic armies during the fall of the Majapahit Empire and found refuge near Mount Bromo, calling the area and their new kingdom ‘Tengger’ after their surnames. Their kingdom flourished, but the couple was unable to have children. They prayed to the gods at the top of Mount Bromo, and eventually Hyang Widi Wasa, the almighty god, promised them that they would have many children. In return, they were to sacrifice their last-born to the volcano when he was an adult. The couple agreed to these terms, and eventually had 25 children. However, Rora and Joko could not bring themselves to sacrifice their youngest son, Kesuma. Displeased by the couple’s refusal to honour their commitment, the volcano erupted, and Kesuma threw himself into the volcano to stop the eruption from consuming the Tenggerese people. After the eruption subsided, Kesuma’s voice was heard declaring that an offering ceremony should be held on the 14th day of Kasada, or the 12th month of the Tenggerese calendar, which day occurs every 270 days according to the Javanese calendar. This offering ceremony has been a tradition among the Tenggerese ever since (Pangarsa, 1995; Parameswara, 2015; Soelistijowati, 2016), and marks the climax of the month-long *Yadnya Kasada*, the most significant festival among the Tenggerese, who travel from all over East Java to attend this event. This festival and its associated rituals are important to the Tenggerese because it fosters stronger social ties as well as the continued cooperation of spirits (Cochrane, 2009). The festival is a serious ritual journey and event,

but one that contains music, food and social interaction.

On the 14th day of the festival, the Tenggerese begin their pilgrimage to Mount Bromo by gathering at the Hindu temple of Pura Luhur Poten, located at the foot of Mount Bromo in the Sea of Sands (see Fig. 15.1). At the temple, the Tenggerese pray to Ida Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa, perform rituals like the Sodor dance, and at midnight inaugurate new priests (Hakim, 2011). The pilgrims then make their way on an arduous journey up the side of Mount Bromo to cast rice, fruit, vegetables and flowers – which are either from local gardens or gathered from the surrounding environment (Hakim, 2011) – as well as livestock, wreaths, and even money, into the volcano as a *nglaorong*, or an offering, to god and the ancestors of the Tenggerese in order to obtain safety, harmony, and blessings for the coming year (Paramitasari, 2008), as well as to express gratitude for a good harvest, the fulfilment of vows, to see into the future or another world, or to pray for a specific blessing or benefit (Cochrane, 2009). More specifically, Paramitasari (2008) suggests the following symbolisms for the various items pilgrims throw into the caldera:

- flowers: to chase away evil spirits;
- vegetables: to thank god for giving them a livelihood;
- fruit: to ask for prosperity for the Tenggerese society;
- live animals: to help the souls of dead ancestors to reach paradise;
- rice: white rice symbolizing purity, red rice symbolizing the return to the origin of Tenggerese society, yellow rice symbolizing the presence of god in everyday life, black rice symbolizing humankind, and green rice symbolizing the pure light of god;
- benozin incense: the smoke of the benozin helps to deliver the offerings and prayers from the pilgrims to god.

The pilgrims also celebrate *Yadnya Kasada* through reciting ancient mantras to cure various diseases, solve personal and community problems, and to appease nature to remain free from diseases and natural disasters (Kelly, 2016).

Interestingly, the animals, vegetables and fruit are not left in the caldera after they have been thrown in. Rather, some of the Tenggerese pilgrims make the dangerous descent into the



Fig. 15.1. This photograph shows the Sea of Sand and the Hindu temple of Pura Luhur Poten at the base of Mount Bromo. Tenggerese pilgrims walk across the Sea of Sand to access the temple, while thousands of tourists drive to a parking area north of the temple and then walk or ride a horse to access the temple. Photo by Chad Emmett. Used with permission.

caldera to reclaim some of the offerings, believing that it will bring them good luck for the coming year. As well, some poorer and more opportunistic local Muslim residents, sometimes numbering in the hundreds, climb into the caldera while the Tenggerese pilgrims are in the process of throwing their offerings into the caldera, bringing nets to try to catch the offerings (Vinter, 2012; Kelly, 2016).

The 'Tourismification' of the Yadnya Kasada Pilgrimage

As noted above, Mount Bromo is in the Bromo-Tengger-Semeru National Park in East Java. The park, which covers approximately 5250 hectares, was established in 1982 to provide a buffer zone for volcanic eruptions, for watershed protection, and for recreational purposes rather than for ecological conservation purposes (Cochrane, 1997). This area was recognized for

its recreational potential as early as the 1920s, the Dutch promoted the area as one of Java's main tourist attractions because of its mountaineering potential and to protect the natural landscape (Cochrane, 2009; Rodriguez, 2016). With the rise of volcano tourism (e.g. Johnston *et al.*, 1999; Heggie, 2009; Bird *et al.*, 2010; Erfurt-Cooper and Cooper, 2010; Benediktsson *et al.*, 2011; Roscoe, 2013), Indonesia is now considered one of the top destinations for volcano tourists, with Bromo-Tengger-Semeru National Park being the top attraction (Petford *et al.*, 2010). In 2012, the park hosted over 110,000 visitors (Wiratama *et al.*, 2014), with the majority of the visitors being domestic tourists (Rodriguez, 2016). Because of the popularity of the national park among domestic and foreign tourists, in 2014 the Indonesia government raised the entry fee to the park to 250,000 rupiah (approximately US\$22), which raised concerns among tour operators and guides about potential decreases in business (Hudoyo, 2014). The Indonesian government is also doubling down,

so to speak, on the popularity of the Bromo-Tengger-Semeru National Park, marking it as one of the government's ten 'priority tourism destinations' in an effort to increase international tourist visitation (Indonesia Investments, 2016).

This increased marketing and promotion has affected the Yadnya Kasada pilgrimage. While the festival and the pilgrimage have great religious and spiritual meaning for the Tengger people, it is becoming increasingly connected to both domestic and international tourism, and is viewed as one of the most iconic tourist attractions in Java (Cochrane, 2011). Attendance at the park on the day of the pilgrimage ranges between 20,000 and 25,000 people, including worshippers and domestic and foreign tourists (Whitten *et al.*, 1996; Hefner, 1999; Cochrane, 2009), which accounts for almost 25% of the annual visits to the park. Tourist interest in observing the pilgrimage ritual is due in part to tourist publications, such as Lonely Planet (2016), which list the Yadnya Kasada pilgrimage as a must-see attraction and provide detailed information about the pilgrimage. Also, this pilgrimage ritual has been written about in both domestic and foreign newspapers. Interestingly, most of these newspaper articles do not focus on the pilgrimage itself and its importance to the Tenggerese people, but rather on the basket- or net-wielding Muslims in the caldera trying to catch the ceremonial offerings (e.g. Wall Street Journal, 2014; Ifansasti, 2015; Parameswara, 2015; Sims, 2016; USA Today, 2016). Because of the increasing interest of tourists in observing this event, several tour agencies have begun to offer tours to the Yadnya Kasada pilgrimage that combine the religious ceremony with pre-dawn horseback rides to watch the sunrise (Indonesia Travel, 2016), which, in this national park is purported to be one of the most beautiful sunrises in the world (Wiratama *et al.*, 2014). According to Cochrane (2003), most visitors travel to the village nearest Mount Bromo (Ngadisari/Cemoro Lawang) and then either ride a horse or walk to the base of the volcano.

Generally, the Tenggerese people are private people, and are generally wary of outsiders. However, the Tenggerese have embraced tourism because of its positive economic benefits (Cochrane, 2003). As Cochrane (1997) notes,

All the villages practice *Kuda Lumping*, a form of trance-dancing. The groups perform several times a year, and in Ranu Pani do so for [domestic and foreign] tourists on demand. The fee for each performance is Rp. 50,000–70,000 (USD \$20–\$30). Ngadisari also has a dance group, which performs at Hindu festivals, and in Ngadas there are several trained dancing horses, which perform on special occasions. In Ranu Pani slightly under half the households reported some contact with tourists, through pottering (36%), performing in the *Kuda Lumping* groups (14%), or driving tourists in a jeep (one family). Some people also engage in more than one tourism-related activity.

The tourism infrastructure around the park is controlled by the Tenggerese, particularly by wealthier members of the community, such as the large land owners and community leadership (Cochrane, 1997; Suhandi, 2003). The Tenggerese are very strict about foreign land ownership in their villages (Cochrane, 2003) and, because of this, Tenggerese people control tourism development and entrepreneurship around the Bromo-Tengger-Semeru National Park. For example, most of the jeeps and tourist accommodations are owned by the richer Tenggerese, and many of the local residents lead guided tours to Mount Bromo, using tourism to supplement their agricultural income. In addition to controlling tourism development outside of the national park, the Tenggerese also engage in providing tourist amenities within the park itself. As seen in Fig. 15.2, before tourists begin to climb the stairway to the edge of caldera, local Tenggerese have built stalls where they sell numerous amenities to tourists, including souvenirs, food and drink, and even offerings that tourists can throw into the caldera (see Figs 15.2 and 15.3).

However, this welcoming attitude towards and engagement with tourists does not seem to carry over to the actual pilgrimage ceremony. For example, while the festival and the Yadnya Kasada pilgrimage creates a demand for extra accommodation, food and transportation services (Cochrane, 2009), most tourists choose to travel to Mount Bromo by motorized transport rather than walk. As the Tenggerese walk across the Sea of Sand towards the Pura Luhur Poten temple as a part of their pilgrimage, they are accompanied by hundreds of speeding minibuses and jeeps, which creates not only a lot of noise



Fig. 15.2. In this photograph tourists line up to climb to the edge of the Mount Bromo Caldera. Before climbing the staircase, tourists walk by the stalls of Tenggerese merchants who sell food and drink, souvenirs and offerings for purchase. Photo by Chad Emmett. Used with permission.



Fig. 15.3. A photo of the types of offerings sold by Tenggerese merchants to tourists to throw into the Mount Bromo caldera. Photo by Chad Emmett. Used with permission.

during the procession, but also vehicle exhaust, with these vehicles also churning volcanic ash into the air (Cochrane, 2009). According to Hakim (2011), the roads to the Mount Bromo crater are generally heavily polluted by oil and horse dung, which pollution is exacerbated during the Kasodo ceremony due to the number of vehicles exceeding the carrying capacity of the roads

leading to Mount Bromo. While tourist buses, minibuses and jeeps are now required to park further away from the temple (see Fig. 15.4), forcing tourists to either walk further or to hire horses to reach the temple and the crater (Cochrane, 2009), the increase of vehicles in the park during the pilgrimage affects the environmental and social elements of the event.



Fig. 15.4. During the pilgrimage, hundreds of minibuses and jeeps will travel the road to the parking area before disembarking and heading to the Pura Luhur Poten temple. This photo shows the parking area during the regular tourist season. Photo by Chad Emmett. Used with permission.

In addition to the environmental issues related to the pilgrimage across the Sea of Sand, there is massive overcrowding at the temple, at the stairway leading to the top of Mount Bromo, and along the edge of the crater. Also, there is little interpretation available to tourists about the significance of the pilgrimage to the Tenggerese people, which makes the pilgrimage more of a spectacle – described by one observer as ‘one of the world’s most outlandish rituals of material sacrifice’ (Kelly, 2016) – rather than as an opportunity to educate visitors. Indeed, it seems that visitors are more interested in watching the people inside the crater catching the offerings than in the actual ritual itself, not realizing that pilgrims view the act of the local Muslims catching the offerings to the volcano an act of charity and kindness that furthers good relations between people of different faiths. Other issues include waste management, which detracts from not just the pilgrimage ritual but also the aesthetics of the surrounding area, as does erosion caused by tourists, who bypass the stairs to the rim of the volcano and walk up the sides of

Mount Bromo, denuding it of what little vegetation there is (Cochrane, 2006).

Discussion

Broadly speaking, some scholars have looked at the socio-environmental issues within the Bromo-Tengger-Semeru National Park (e.g. Sutito, 1994; Cochrane, 2003; Hakim, 2011), noting various anthropogenic factors that have threatened plant and animal species and have contributed to soil erosion and decreases in water quality. While these studies have focused on the land-use patterns of the Tenggerese people, tourism exacerbates these issues. As Hakim (2011) notes, increased tourism to Mount Bromo has led to instances of vandalism, solid waste accumulation, pollution, illegal flora harvesting and habitat disturbance, and the growing numbers of tourists has led to the growth of major transportation infrastructure projects that generally are completed without an environmental impact assessment. Tourism planning should be

built on solid and proven environmental standards, environmentally sound design and local people's involvement (Hakim *et al.*, 2008), as they will increase tourist and local resident satisfaction and conserve biodiversity (Hakim and Nakagoshi, 2008).

These socio-environmental issues are found in the *Yadnya Kasada* at Mount Bromo. For example, *Yadnya Kasada* provides a time and space, elements of leisure and tourism to Tenggers for a great day out, a break from work/routine and a fun social gathering with abundant foods while also being an important part of their religious cycle (Cochrane, 2009). At the same time, serious spiritual explorers challenge themselves by walking to the mountain and completing the same arduous journey as the Tenggerese. These spiritual explorers often contemplate on their own during the festival without interrupting the Tenggers and their rituals. However, most secular tourists, who use vehicles to get to the mountain instead of walking, focus on taking photos and gazing at the spectacle before them. Often, they treat the *Yadnya Kasada* as a tourist event and at times interrupt rituals. As Graburn (1983) notes, 'ritual does not have to pertain to religion: what is held sacred by society – unquestioned, fundamental structure of beliefs about the world – may not be religious, but nevertheless may be felt as crucially important and capable of arousing strong emotions' (p. 13). However, today, such rituals are now co-opted by tourism, as religious events become global events where everyone is invited – many with smartphones. Those that manage Mount Bromo and the *Yadnya Kasada* event should seek to manage these pilgrim and tourist groups in a way that builds long-term and appropriate policies and strategies so as to maintain rituals and culture. By doing so, they can satisfy the spiritual needs of tourists while optimizing tourism income for the benefit of the local economy in a sustainable manner. For instance, organized spiritual or religious tourism programs can financially benefit the local economy without damaging the environment and culture. While the carrying capacities of major pilgrimage sites and routes around the world are overburdened with the sheer volume of secular tourists, many also suffer from lack of funding to run and maintain these routes and their corresponding sites. It is important, therefore, to locally define pilgrims and tourists, as well as measure the demand

around the religious sites and events over time. As Wilson (1993) noted in his critique and re-evaluation of Greenwood's (1977) work on the Alarde Festival in Spain, even when solutions to tour management problems are found, they are rarely or poorly implemented, especially in developing countries and regions. Management tools that could help to improve the situation include more effective interpretation and guiding, and better visitor signage combined with signage, but as Hitchcock and Darma Putra (2016) have noted, even in large heritage sites such as Borobudur and Prambanan, which have managers, custodians and money, visitor effective management is not fully implemented.

Like pilgrimage trails across the world, pilgrims should be able to use their sacred sites without interference by tourists. However, tourism provides a welcome source of income in what is a relatively poor rural region. While religious and secular uses of religious sites and routes are both concerned with personal wellbeing, self-realization and quality-of-life issues, pilgrimage sites also can generate capital and alleviate poverty (Nuryanti and Spillane, 2014). In the case of the *Yadnya Kasada* pilgrimage, a 2007 decision to oblige tourist buses to park farther away from the temple, so that tourists would either have to walk further or to hire horses to reach the crater was lauded by the local Tengerese, in part because the horses are owned by local people (Cochrane, 2009).

Another challenge for management is the blurred distinction because of the multiple layers of pilgrims and tourists (Murray and Graham, 1997). Di Giovine (2011) notes that it is challenging to categorize visitors at a destination despite frequent attempts by academics and practitioners to do so (e.g. Pfaffenberger, 1983; Adler, 1989, 2002; Badone and Roseman, 2004; Choe *et al.*, 2013; Sharpley, 2009; Stausberg, 2011; cf. Cohen, 1979; Nolan and Nolan, 1992; Eade, 1992; Rinschede, 1992; de Sousa, 1993; Bauman, 1996; Poria *et al.*, 2003; Collins-Kreiner and Gatrell, 2006). Timothy and Olsen (2006) also note that pilgrimage and tourism are functionally similar, providing both pilgrims and tourists with spiritual experiences. Murray and Graham (1997, p. 518) stress that

the potential and actual conflicts between spiritual participants, following either religious

rituals and rites or seeking inner awareness through intense physical experiences and even bodily deprivation, and those pursuing more secular aspects of route-based travel ... [to] the holy site – and the route to it – will always be multi-sold.

In many ways, as noted above, tourism can be a secular substitute for organized religion and provide tourists with the opportunity to seek meaning through the rituals of sightseeing (Timothy and Olsen, 2006). Like pilgrimages, arduous rite-of-passage types of tourism consist of prolonged absences, which can take the form of self-testing, wherein individuals prove to themselves that they can make life changes (Choe *et al.*, 2013). Government and business stakeholders responsible for pilgrimage routes and religious sites need to understand this multidimensional nature and dual demands of pilgrims, spiritual participants, tourists and others.

Broadening the debate, Hitchcock *et al.* (2008) emphasize that these are important issues to address across all ASEAN countries, as tourism comes to bear upon the all socio-economic, cultural and political elements. They argue, that this requires ‘us to capture the dynamics of tourism development and attempt to address the limitations of snapshot, time-bounded studies’ (2008, p. 2). They also argue that the interrelationship between tourism and other processes of change need to be studied so as explore the implications of the increasing ‘touristification’ of certain communities and their ‘deliberate traditionalization and retraditionalization in the interests of responding to the needs and objectives of the tourist market’ (2008, p. 2). Thus, there is a need for continuous monitoring by experts to maintain the culture and environment surrounding religious sites and events while developing a sustainable model of tourism development. The tourism industry will bring a crucial income source for Southeast Asia, and also to spiritual places (Hitchcock *et al.*, 2008).

Regionalization can lead to the development of a regional approach and thereby facilitate intraregional and international tourism. However, there are issues regarding overt competition and sometimes antagonism between ASEAN countries and destinations. The expansion and increases in the economic impact of religious

tourism relies on countries within ASEAN cooperating rather than competing. Tourism, like any other economic activity, is scale-sensitive, with cooperation among geographically proximate countries potentially exploiting economies of scale in the supply of tourist goods and services. This will, in the long term, enhance competitiveness by reducing costs and enhancing efficiency (Rasul and Manandhar, 2009). Collaboration enables resource and risks to be shared, facilitates coordinated policies, improves trust, confidence and mutual understanding, and exploits commonalities and complementarities. By capitalizing on ‘collaborative advantages’ rather than on individual ‘competitive advantages’ (Bramwell and Sharman, 1999; Bramwell and Lane, 2000), collaboration can also help reduce adversarial conflicts. The benefits of a successful partnership approach could lead to greater cost-effective cross-border marketing and promotional programmes, as well as tourism clusters spanning different countries and greater cross-border mobility of skilled tourism professionals. From the strong Theravada Buddhist traditions in Cambodia and Thailand, and celebrations like the Makha Bucha, which commemorates the ordainment of Buddha’s first 1250 disciples, to Islamic feasts such as the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad and Eid Ul-Adha, the opportunities for a more regional approach to events and religious sites are apparent (Choe and O’Regan, 2015).

Recommendations

East Java, Indonesia continues to face complex problems related to long-term poverty, and tourism can be key to its economic development. Tourism can generate income, provide jobs, combat poverty, promote local culture and increase the welfare of residents (Hampton, 2005; Hall and Page, 2006). The cultural and natural resources of an area can enhance the potential value for tourism if appropriate planning and management strategies are implemented. As noted in this chapter, Mount Bromo, with a traditional *Yadnya Kasada* pilgrimage, has attracted many tourists (TNBTS, 1995; Hakim and Nakagoshi, 2006), which has provided economic benefits to the local community. The Tenggerese also have positive views of tourism, but as Hakim

(2008, p. 208) notes, 'tourism should be planned to provide benefits to local people, preserve tradition and able to conserve nature to ensure the living sustainability of Tenggerese'. The acceptance by people for the use of their sacred site is crucial for successful tourism development. However, any development should not limit access to spiritual and cultural sites, and must ensure the local peoples spiritual needs and rights are guaranteed (Hakim *et al.*, 2008). Despite these recommendations, tourism in the area continues to grow spontaneously rather than in a top-down planning approach. This has led to numerous problems such as conflicts between conservation, pilgrimage and tourism uses (Hakim and Nakagoshi, 2008). Through more balanced and long-term planning, stakeholders can still achieve economic benefits, while supporting conservation programs, increasing cultural appreciation and enhancing quality of life.

Like all tourism attractions, pilgrimage sites have optimum visitor capacities, and therefore visitor flows need to be controlled via the enforcement of firm parameters. Visitor limitation and regulation can help protect the sacred sites and traditional rituals considered ecologically and culturally fragile (Hakim *et al.*, 2008). Applying the concept of carrying capacity as a technique for visitor control by government and pilgrimage site managers should build efficient means of controlling visitor flows to Mount Bromo. Careful planning and the development of cooperative partnerships between site managers and the management of external visitor facilities, such as hotels, is also recommended (Nuryanti and Spillane, 2014).

Interpretation and opportunities and better signage needs to be installed to engender a sense of respect by visitors for the sacred nature of the *Yadnya Kasada* pilgrimage. Perhaps the Tenggerese should consider introducing traditional guards, or *pecalang*, as is done in Bali, whose authority is underpinned by their traditional clothing and who are responsible for preserving the sacred nature of these types of events. The Balinese also make effective use of interfaith dialogue in the build-up to important festivals such as Nyepi (Erviani, 2015) and opening of such avenues of communication could help tourists better understand the religious significance of the *Yadnya Kasada*. Briefings for foreign journalists and

guidebook authors might also help spread more awareness of how important the festival is to both the Tenggerese and the local Muslim community, as well as how the presence of poor people in the crater is an act of charity and kindness that furthers good relations between people of different faiths. As has been noted, there have been some welcome improvements, but more could be done to help create a harmonious form of tourism alongside this important pilgrimage event. In addition, the local government and tourism authorities should provide proper education programs for local people regarding running tourism-related businesses. While some locals work in tourism by renting horses and cars, providing accommodations and offering adventure trips to a mountain, others operate restaurants and souvenirs shops (Hakim *et al.*, 2008), and income levels remain low due to the lack of professional skills and knowledge. Local people are not involved in planning and decision-making processes even though local participation is crucial for proper planning (Dudley *et al.*, 2005; Pannell, 2006; Hakim *et al.*, 2008). Through education programmes, locals can get involved in developing tourism products that can benefit them economically while sustaining their cultures and religious practices.

At a broader scale, there is also a need for empirical research regarding religious tourism in ASEAN countries beyond the UNWTO's (2011) effort to document this phenomenon. Future research in this area will aid in the development of identifying best practices in the areas of planning, development, and re-development. As the development and promotion of pilgrimage routes and religious tourism in this region are still in its infancy (Choe and O'Regan, 2015), there is also a need research other pilgrimage routes and trails in relation to the themes of sustainable local development, regional economic development, heritage maintenance, and environmental issues. Integrating religious tourism with international initiatives may help encourage capacity building, sacred site stewardship, community involvement and sustainable management (Citrinot, 2014) through increasing the participation of local residents in tourism planning and taking into account local people's cultural and faith-based needs (Cochrane, 2000).

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